

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 3808

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SUBJECT: US-USSR PRE -UNGA CONSULTATIONS

1. SUMMARY US-USSR PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS AT SOVIET MISSION SEPTEMBER 17 PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION OF MAJOR POLITICAL/ECONOMIC ISSUES, AS WELL AS FRANK ATTENTION TO US/SOVIET RELATIONS. BOTH SIDES EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION AND DETENTE, BUT DISCUSSION ALSO HIGHLIGHTED FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES OVER SOUTHERN AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST AND KOREA AND US PUBLIC'S SKEPTICISM OVER DIRECTION OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS WAS MADE CLEAR. AREAS OF AGREEMENT WERE OPPOSITION TO CHARTER REVIEW, COMMON CONCERN OVER PROLIFERATION OF UN AGENCIES OF CONFERENCES, AND INTEREST IN HOLDING DOWN UN BUDGET. SOVIETS CONFIRMED THAT GROMYKO AND ACCOMPANYING DELEGATION ARRIVE NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 20, BUT REFUSED TO BE DRAWN OUT ON POSSIBLE NUF OF OTHER INITIATIVES. SOVIET TEAM WAS LED BY CHARGE KHARLAMOV, AND INCLUDED DEPUTY PERM REPS MAKEYEV AND UOINNIKOV, LEGAL ADVISER SMIRNOV, AND COUNSELLORS TULINOV AND GRODSKI. US TEAM WAS HEADED BY DEPUT PERM REP BENNETT AND INCLUDED AMBASSADORS SHERER AND MYERSON, IO/UNP DIRECTOR HELMAN, COUNSELLORS PETREE, STOTTLEMYER AND REIS, AND POLITICAL OFFICER HIRSCH. END SUMMARY

2. US/USSR RELATIONS: US AND SOVIET PRESENTATIONS

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ACKNOWLEDGED IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION AT 31ST UNGA AND

CONTINUING EFFORTS TO SEEK DETENTE. ON SPECIFIC FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, HOWEVER, DISCUSSION INEVITABLY HIGHLIGHTED OUR BASIC DIFFERENCES ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, KOREA AND OTHER AREAS. AMBASSADOR BENNETT, IN CLOSING REMARKS, MADE USE OF STATEMENT FURNISHED BY DEPT TO HIGHLIGHT GROWING SKEPTICISM OF US PUBLIC ABOUT DIRECTION OF SOVIET/US RELATIONS, DEEP CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET ACTIONS IN ANGOLA AND SUPPORT FOR THE CUBANS, AND UNCERTAINTY ABOUT FUTURE OF DETENTE. US DOES NOT WANT RECURRENCE OF COLD WAR TENSIONS, BUT DOES NOT ACCEPT AN "ESCAPE CLAUSE" FOR SOVIET SUPPORT OF WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION OR SOVIET EFFORTS TO SABOTAGE US ATTEMPTS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. KHARLAMOV REPLIED THAT NORMALIZATION OF US/SOVIET RELATIONS IS ESSENTIAL FOR WORLD PEACE. AFTER LAUNCHING INTO ATTACK ON US MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, HE NOTED PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S WARNING TO SECRETARY THAT TIME IS RUNNING OUT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, CHARGED THAT US, UK AND FRANCE HAD SUPPLIED MERCENARIES TO ANGOLA BEFORE CUBANS CAME IN, AND REPEATED STANDARD SOVIET POSITION RE SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

3. DISARMAMENT: US AND SOVIETS AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION AND COORDINATION ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES IN NEW YORK AS HAS BEEN THE CASE AT THE CCD IN GENEVA. DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO SPECIFIC TOPICS:

A) MDW. SOVIETS HAVE PROVIDED DEFINITION OF MDW WEAPONS IN GENEVA DISCUSSIONS, AND SEEK UNGA RES CALLING FOR ACCELERATION OF WORK AT CCD IN ORDER TO OBTAIN MDW TREATY IN 1977. SHERER REPLIED THAT US WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN CCD DISCUSSIONS DOES NOT CONSTITUTE ENDORSEMENT OF SOVIET PROPOSAL BUT US REMAINS WILLING TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON ARMS CONTROL ASPECTS OF NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS. US FAVORS SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS PROVIDING FOR APPROPRIATE SCOPE AND ADEQUATE VERIFICATION.

B) CTB. SOVIETS REGRET US NEGATIVE POSITION AND BELIEVE THERE IS NEED FOR CTB AGREEMENT AS FOLLOW-ON TO PNE AND UNDERGROUND TEST BAN AGREEMENT. USSR WANTS UNGA RES IN SUPPORT OF CTB TREATY.

C) WDC AND SSOD. SOVIETS FAVOR EARLY CONVENING OF WDC AND REGRET US OPPOSITION TO THIS INITIATIVE. ON SSOD, CONFIDENTIAL

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SOVIETS BELIEVE IT PREMATURE TO INDICATE THEIR POSITION SINCE THERE IS NO FORMAL PROPOSAL AS YET. HELMAN INDICATED THAT US POSITION ON SSOD WOULD DEPEND ON CONTENTS OF PROPOSED AGENDA.

D) NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE. SOVIETS FAVOR STRENGTHENING THE NPT AND MORE EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION. SHERER URGED US-SOVIET COOPERATION ON NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, STRESSING POTENTIAL HARM TO NPT REGIME IF THIS MATTER

GOES BADLY AT THE UN.

E) ENMOD. SOVIETS EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT CCD HAS SUBMITTED DRAFT CONVENTION AND WILL SEEK ITS BROAD ACCEPTANCE AT UN DESPITE THE OPPOSITION OF "CERTAIN COUNTRIES". SHERER SAID US HAS SAME OBJECTIVE.

F) CW. SOVIETS ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US- SOVIET EXCHANGES AT CCD LAST MONTH, AND FAVOR UNGA RESOLUTION CALLING FOR ACCELERATION OF CCD WORK TO ATTAIN TREATY AT EARLY DATE. US LOOKS FORWARD TO FURTHER BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON VERIFICATION ISSUE. WE WILL SEEK TO ATTAIN A CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION ON CW WHICH CAN BE ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS.

G) STRENGTHENING UN ROLE. SOVIETS HOPE US/USSR COOPERATION ON THIS ITEM WILL CONTINUE.

4. POSSIBLE SOVIET INITIATIVES: KHARLAMOV REFUSED TO BE DRAWN OUT ON POSSIBLE SOVIET INITIATIVES (HE USED THE PLURAL) BUT SAID SOVIET DELEGATION ARRIVING IN NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 20 WILL PROVIDE MORE SPECIFIC INFORMATION. BREZHNEV'S 25TH CPSU SPEECH HAD OUTLINED SEVEN FOREIGN POLICY AREAS, INCLUDING NON-USE OF FORCE THEME, WHICH FORM BASIS OF SOVIET PLANNING. KHARLAMOV INDICATED THAT THERE WILL BE ONE OR MORE SOVIET INITIATIVES AND PROMISED EARLY CONSULTATIONS.

5. MIDDLE EAST: KHANZHENKOV REPEATED STANDARD SOVIET POSITION ON NEED FOR COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT AND RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE WITH PLO PARTICIPATION. AS TO UNEF/UNDOF, SOVIETS SUPPORT THEIR PRESENCE ON TEMPORARY BASIS BUT FAVOR REDUCING SIZE OF FORCES AND EXPENDITURES (IN BUDGETARY PRESENTATION LATER ON SOVIETS HIT HARD ON VAGUENESS OF LATEST AUDIT AND NEED FOR CAREFUL SCRUTINY OF UNEF/UNDOF SPENDING). US EMPHASIZED CONTINUING PREFERENCE FOR A PRACTICAL STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH ON MIDDLE EAST, AS WELL AS NEED TO ATTAIN NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF LEBANON CRISIS AS
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PREREQUISITE FOR FURTHER MOVEMENT IN ARAB/ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS. HELMAN STRESSED UNACCEPTABILITY TO USG AND PUBLIC OF EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM AND URGED SOVIETS TO US THEIR INFLUENCE TO PREVENT RECURRENCE OF DIVISIVE DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE, WHICH CAN ONLY HARM PEACE PROSPECTS IN THE AREA; HE ALSO URGED LARGER CONTRIBUTION OF UNRWA AS IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF MIDDLE EAST STABILITY. OVINNIKOV PROTESTED THAT STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH IGNORES SOVIETS AND INSISTED THAT ONLY GENEVA CONFERENCE CAN LEAD TO STABLE PEACE.

6. KOREA: SOVIET SAID THAT THEY WILL SUPPORT DPRK PROPOSAL AND OPPOSE WESTERN RESOLUTION WHICH IGNORES QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL OF UN FORCES FROM SOUTH KOREA. US SAID THAT IT IS NOT SEEKING A CONFRONTATION AT THE UN, AND THAT SECRETARY'S

JULY 22 PROPOSAL CONSTITUTED MODERATE AND FLEXIBLE BASIS FOR FURTHER TALKS. US, HOWEVER, CANNOT ACCEPT EXCLUSION OF ROK FROM FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. DPRK POSITION AT COLOMBO, ITS INITIATIVE IN INSCRIBING CONFRONTATIONAL RESOLUTION AT UNGA AND RECENT DMZ INCIDENT INDICATE, HOWEVER, THAT DPRK IS SEEKING CONFRONTATION. US IS CONFIDENT THAT THERE IS STRONG SUPPORT FOR FRIENDLY KOREAN RESOLUTION AND BELIEVES THAT MANY MODERATE NONALIGNED STATES ARE DISENCHANTED WITH DPRK INTRAN
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7. CHARTER REVIEW: US AND USSR AGREED ON NEED TO OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT TO REVISE UN CHARTER. SOVIETS EXPECT ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE TO PROLONG MANDATE OF CHARTER REVIEW COMMITTEE AND EXPAND ITS MEMBERSHIP. US NOTED THAT UN CHARTER COULD BE UNDERMINED NOT ONLY BY INITIATIVE IN THIS COMMITTEE BUT BY OTHER POSSIBLE PROPOSALS SUCH AS ON NON-USE OF FORCE, WHICH SHOULD BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED. US HOPED THAT BILATERAL COOPERATION ATTAINED ON THIS ISSUE CAN BE REFLECTED ON OTHER TOPICS.

8. FRG PROPOSAL ON TERRORISM: US, RECALLING US-SOVIET COOPERATION IN ATTAINING CONVENTION ON PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS, EXPRESSED HOPE THAT WE COULD WORK TOGETHER IN SIMILAR SPIRIT ON FRG PROPOSAL. US PUBLIC IS LOOKING TO UN FOR ACTION AGAINST TERRORISM AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT GA DEBATE AVOID UNNECESSARY POLEMICS. BENNETT EEXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT FRG INITIATIVE, SINCE IT IS CONFINED TO ONLY ONE ASPECT OF TERRORISM PROBLEM, MAY FARE BETTER THAN EARLIER UNFOCUSED DISCUSSION IN SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON TERRORISM. SOVIETS CONFIRMED THAT FRG HAS DISCUSSED ITS INITIATIVE WITH THEM, ADDING THAT IS CONTAINS A NUMBER OF UNCLEAR OR CONTRADICTORY ASPECTS WHICH HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED BEFORE SOVIET POSITION CAN BE FORMULATED.

9. ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY ISSUES:

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A) UN BUDGET: SOVIETS REITERATED THEIR CHRONIC CONCERN WITH UN BUDGET INCREASES, ASSERTING THAT 76-77 BUDGET IS 38 PERCENT GREATER THAN PREVIOUS ONE. SOVIETS BELIEVE THESE INCREASES ARE LARGELY THE RESULT OF PROLIFERATING UN ORGANS AND CONFERENCES, THE FUNDING OF PROGRAMS OF LIMITED IMPORTANCE AND UNJUSTIFIED SALARY/PENSION INCREASES FOR SECRETARIAT STAFF. SOVIETS WISH TO WORK TOGETHER WITH US TO PUSH FOR GREATER EFFICIENCY OF UN SECRETARIAT OPERATIONS, ELIMINATION OF OBSOLETE PROGRAMS, CLOSER SCRUTINY OF BUDGET ITEMS AND CEILING ON MEDIUM TERM EXPENDITURES. UNEF/UNDOF OPERATION SHOULD BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED. US NOTED THAT IT AGREED WITH THESE BROAD OBJECTIVES BUT FAVORS FLEXIBILITY RATHER THAN DOGMATIC APPROACH. SECRETARIAT EFFICIENCY COULD BE INCREASED BY GREATER EMPHASIS ON PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS AND NOT SIMPLY ON GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION.

B) LIMITED ACCESS MEETINGS; US BELIEVES UN FUNDS SHOULD NOT BE USED FOR THESE MEETINGS. SOVIETS STATED THAT THEY FAVOR PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR ALL REGIONAL GROUPS PROVIDED FUNDING IS DRAWN FROM EXISTING RESOURCES.

10. ECONOMIC ISSUES: AMBASSADOR MAKAYEV INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS (LIKE MOST NY DELS) ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW THE ECONOMIC ISSUES WILL GO AT THE 31ST GA SINCE THIS MAY BE HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY DEVELOPMENTS ELSEWHERE SUCH AS UNCTAD FOLLOW UP, THE G-77 MEXICO MEETING, AND CIEC. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS INTEND ON ALL ISSUES TO PUSH THEIR FUNDAMENTAL VIEWS REGARDING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, THE LINK BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL ISSUES SUCH AS DISARMAMENT, RESTRICTING "REACTIONARY" SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, AND SUPPORT FOR THE "JUST DEMANDS" OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME, MAKAYEV EMPHASIZED CONTINUING SOVIET CONCERN ABOUT PROLIFERATION OF MEETINGS AND NEW INSTITUTIONS OR ACTIVITIES OF QUESTIONABLE VALIDITY. HE CITED AS AN EXAMPLE A POSSIBLE NEW INSTITUTION TO FOLLOW UP HABITAT.

B) MYERSON SUMMARIZED BRIEFLY OUR VIEWS ON THIS YEAR'S UNGA AS PART OF THE CONTINUING NORTH-SOUTH PROCESS. HE INDICATED THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE DESPITE US-SOVIET DIFFERENCES OVER ISSUES RELATED TO NIEO AND OTHER MATTERS. HE ALSO AGREED IN PRINCIPLE ABOUT THE NEED TO HOLD DOWN THE NUMBER OF MEETINGS, STRESSING ESPECIALLY DIFFICULTIES

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AND EXPENSES INVOLVED IN MEETINGS AWAY FROM HEADQUARTERS. LASTLY, MYERSON EMPHASIZED OUR DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE RESISTING INTRODUCTION OF EXTR

KEOUS POLITICAL ISSUES

INTO DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.

C) IN COURSE OF DISCUSSION, MAKYEV CRITICIZED WITH HIS
CUSTOMARY ACERBITY THE US PROPOSAL ON NON-CONVERTIBLE
CURRENCIES MADE AT THE LAST UNDP GOVERNING COUNCIL SESSION.
BENNETT RESPONDED IN SUITABLE DETAIL AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE
THAT THE SOVIET UNION--AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN A SIMILAR
SIUTION--WOULD RECONSIDER THEIR OPPOSITION. WHILE MAKAYEV'S
ARGUMENTS WERE ALL FAMILIAR, THEIR TONE MADE CLEAR THAT
THE SOVIETS ARE STILL FEELING THE STING OF EMBARRASSMENT
ON THIS MATTER. ALTHOUGH FIRMLY MAINTAINING THE SOVIET
POSITION, MAKAYEV INDICATED HIGH REGARD FOR UNDP
ADMINISTRATOR MORSE AND HOPED THAT HE WOULD FIND SOME WAY
TO US THE SOVIET CONTRIBUTION.

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